Chinese Seals in the Mongol Official Documents in Iran: Re-examination of the Sphragistic System in the Il-khanid and Yuan Dynasties

Yokkaichi Yasuhiro
Tokyo University, Japan

Introduction

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the official documents of the Mongol regime in Eurasia shared certain common aspects, despite the influence of traditional documents in cultural regions like China and Iran. The Mongolian, Turkic, Chinese, Tibetan, and Persian documents of the Mongol period exhibited similar phrases and sentence constructions. The official documents of the Il-khanid dynasty also exhibited a style similar to that of the Mongol regime. While Mongolian language was used at the upper level of the command structure of the Il-khanid administration, in which the Mongol royal families were at the central, both Mongolian and Turkic were used at the level of *amīr*s or *noyan*s. On the other hand, *vazir*s and government officials from the local societies in Iran and Central Asia acquired traditional writing skills in Arabic and Persian, with some of them even mastering Mongolian and Turkic.① When an order was issued in the local society of Iran, although the content was written in the local language, i. e., Persian, at the top of each document, formulaic phrases were written in Turkic or Arabic as a status symbol,② depending on the rank of the issuer and the aim of the issue.

Some Il-khanid official documents have the Chinese *tamγas* (seals). Such seals are called *al tamγa* ("red seals") or *altan tamγa* ("golden seals"). There exist, for example, the *altan tamγa* of "*fuguo anmin zhi bao*" 辅国安民之宝 in the Arγun *üge* document in *üker jil* (year of the rabbit) at the Archivio Segreto Vaticano③ and the *al-tamγa* of "*zongguan yinyuan zhi yin*" 总管隐院之印 in the Husein *söz* document in 704

① The epistolary art for the official and private correspondence in the Persian cultural background is called *Inshā'*. From the Saljūqid period to the Safavid period, especially in the Mongol period, many *Inshā'* manuals were compiled in Iran. See Paul, Jürgen 1995, pp. 535 - 540; Paul, Jürgen 1999, pp. 277 - 285; Watabe Ryōko 2002, pp. 1 - 23; Watabe Ryōko 2003, pp. 200 - 208, and Qāe'm Maqāmī 1350.

② This formulaic expression at the top of a document corresponds to "*shangtian juanming, huangdi shengzhi*" 上天眷命, 皇帝圣旨 or "*changsheng tian qili li, da fuyin huzhu li, huangdi shengzhi li*" 长生天气力里, 大福廕护助里, 皇帝圣旨里 in Chinese.

③ See Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952, pp. 445 - 467.

A. H. of the Ardabil archives. ① The *Il-khan* emperors strengthened his political power in Iran by using the authority of the Mongol *Qaγan*. Therefore, it can be said that the use of Chinese *tamγas* that symbolized the authorities of the Mongol Empire or the Yüan dynasty proved to be highly advantageous for the *Il-khan* emperors.

These seals help us understand the Mongol ruling system in Iran and Central Asia, multiethnic social conditions, and interaction between east and west Eurasia under the rule of the Mongol empire. This paper focuses on the Chinese seals of the Il-khanid dynasty in Iran and overviews the relevant issues in the Mongolian sphragistic system.

What are the Mongol official document style?

We can observe similar styles in the existing official documents of the Mongol empire, the Yuan dynasty, and the Il-khanid dynasty. In this paper, we refer to such documents as "the Mongol official documents." Of these documents, the *jarliγ*, which originally meant "noble words" spoken by an honorable person, implies only "imperial decrees" in the Mongol empire's documentation system. ② Such documents were issued in the Il-khanid dynasty too. The decree issued by the Il-khan was called *yarligh* in Persian historical material.

In east and west Eurasia, which were ruled by the Mongol empire and its succession regimes, Mongolian, Turkic, Chinese, Tibetan, Persian, and multilinguistic documents, which share certain common characteristics and expressions, were issued officially. Some scholars studied such documents from the standpoint of each language, including Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese. In particular, the opening and ending phrases with a typical feature of the Mongol official documents were examined by Kotwicz, W. 1934, Григорьев, А. П. 1978, Ono Hiroshi 1993 and others. According to Schuh, D. 1977 and Čenggel 1994 and Matsukawa 1995, we can observe a common ground in the sentence structures in Mongolian and other linguistic documents. ③ Čenggel pointed out the internal structure of a Mongolian edict as follows:

1. Opening phrases

(1) praying words (*dαγadqalun üge*), (2) Indication of the issuer of an edict (*jarliγ bαγukγαγči*)

2. Recipient of an edict (*jarluγ dαγulγaqui eteged*)

3. Contents of an edict

(1) quotation of previous edicts (*uridaqi qαγad-un jarliγ-un duradqal*), (2) display allegiance to

① See Herrmann, G. 2004, pp. 84 – 89, Abb. 25 – 35.

② *Jarliγ* in Mongolian corresponds to *yarliγ* in Turkic, *yarlīgh* in Persian/Arabic, and *shengzhi* 圣旨 in Chinese, under the Mongol empire.

③ Schuh, D. 1977 dealt with Tibetan documents and Čenggel 1994 and Matsukawa Takashi 1995 mainly discussed Mongol official documents during the Mongol empire and the Yuan periods.

previous edicts by the successive Qaγans (*uridaqi qaγad-un jarliγ-i daγaqu čiqulčilaγ_a*), (3) objects of an edict (*jarliγ küliyegči*), (4) contents of an order (*jorbuslaγsan čaγaja*), (5) intimidating words (*sürdegülülge üge*)

4. Ending phrases

(1) confirmation of an edict (*batulaburi*), (2) year of issue (*jarliγ bayulγaγsan on*), (3) month of issue (*jarliγ bayulγaγsan sar_a*), (4) day of issue (*jarliγ bayulγaγsan edür*), (5) place of issue (*jarliγ bayulγaγsan γajar orun*)

5. Impress (*tamaγ_a*) ①

In a similar way, Matsukawa Takashi who modified the Schuh's view partially also showed the internal structure of a document as follows:

1. Grounds for empowerment
2. Indication of the issuer and style of an edict
3. Recipient of an edict
4. Contents of an edict

(1) indication of legality, (2) explanation of the situation, (3) command 1 (to the recipient of an edict), (4) object of an edict, (5) command 2 (to the object of an edict), (6) provision for commination and sanction

5. Formulaic phrase at the end

(1) date of issue, (2) place of issue, (3) indication of an edict style ②

Compared with such views, although some parts of the structure are sometimes omitted, we observe same structure in the official documents of the Il-khanid, too. There existed, in general, two types of the Mongol official documents in the Il-khanid dynasty. One is the *jarliγ* document issued by the Mongol *Qaγan* and the other is a general edict issued by other issuers like the *amīr*s and *vazīr*s of the *Qaγan* or *Qan*. The former is often completely written in Mongolian and the latter is written in multiple languages like Turkic and Persian. ③ In fact, in most of the Ardabil archives, the opening formulaic phrases are written in Turkic or Arabic, while

① Čenggel 1994, pp. 31－37. The items above mentioned are numbered serially from 1 to 13 in his original article. I renumbered them for descriptive purposes. The last item (Impress (*tamaγ_a*)) was added in his paper "A comparative study of diplomatic and general documents in the Mongol empire" at the symposium: *War and diplomacy in East Asia from a paleographical point of view* at Kyushu University, Fukuoka in December 2007.

② Matsukawa Takashi 1995, pp. 36－44. Those items are not numbered in his original article. For descriptive purposes, I added numbers to categorized items.

③ Although the actual *jarliγ / yarligh* document issued by the Il-khanid emperors in Persian language has not been found at present, it is highly possible that a copy of the *jarliγ / yarligh* document in Persian or another language was drafted in addition to the Mongolian original copy. This is because the Turkic and Persian copy issued by Güyük Qan is present at the Segreto Archivio Vaticano.

the remaining text is written in Persian. ①

Seals with Chinese characters in the official documents of the Il-khanid

Some official documents of the Il-khanid dynasty have a square-shaped red seal impression of a fixed size. Such red seals are called *al tamγa* in Persian historical sources. ② Most of these seals, especially before the era of Öljeitü Sultān, were inscribed in Chinese characters. Why were Chinese characters, which were hardly used in the Il-khanid court and Iranian-Islamic societies, adopted as official seals? This might be because the Il-khanid dynasty considered the Yuan as a suzerain power, in principle at least, and Chinese *tamγas* symbolized the authoritative power of the *Qaγan*. This indicates the solidarity between the Yuan and the Il-khanid dynasties. The existing Chinese *tamγas* in the Il-khanid official documents at present are as follows:

(a) ***Xing-hubu Shangshu Yin*** 行户部尚书印 (seal of the Minister of the Branch Office of the Ministry of Revenue) Gaihatu period

(b) ***Wangfu zhi Yin*** 王府之印 (seal of the Secretarial Council of a Prince) Öljeitü period

(c) ***You-shumishi zhi Yin*** 右枢密使之印 (seal of the Minister of the Right of the Military Council) Öljeitü period

(d) ***Zongguan Yinyuan zhi Yin*** 总管隐院之印 (seal of the Superintendent of the Hermitage Bureau) Öljeitü and Abū Saīd periods

(e) ***Fuguo Anmin zhi Bao*** 辅国安民之宝 (Great seal of assisting governances and pacifying people) Abaγa and Aryun periods

(f) ***Wangfu Dingguo Limin zhi Bao*** 王府定国理民之宝 (Great seal of stabilizing the realm and ruling the people by the Secretarial Council of Prince) Gazan period

(g) ***Zhenming-Huangdi Tianshun-Wanshi zhi Bao*** 真命皇帝天顺万事之宝 (Great seal of the true emperor with whom the Heaven makes everything go along) Öljeitü and Abū Sa'īd periods

Of the above, seals (a) - (d) were bestowed upon bureaus or administrators and were called *al tamghā* (Tur. *al tamγa*) or red seals in Persian sources. ③ Although (e) - (g) are similar red-colored Chinese seals, they cannot be called *al tamgha*, because they were not government seals or *guanyin* 官印; rather, they were the great seals or *baoxi* 宝玺, which were stamped on the imperial edicts by *Il-khanid* emperors. From the viewpoint of the exergue of these seals, on the one hand, (a) - (d) are inscribed with "... *zhi yin*" 之印 ("seal of ...") and on the other hand, (e) - (g) have "... *zhi bao*" 之宝 ("great seal of ..."), which

① See Urkunde 1 - 9, 13 - 15, 21 - 24, 27 in Herrmann, G. 2004.

② See Doerfer, G. 1982 - 1985, pp. 766 - 768.

③ With respect to the outline of *al tamγa*, see Doerfer, G. 1982 - 1985 (a), pp. 766 - 768.

could be used only by the imperial family of the Yuan.① In my view, they correspond to *altan tamγa / altūn tamgha* or golden seals rather than *al tamγa* or red seals.②

Since these seals were standardized to befit the Yuan dynasty, it appears that they were originally bestowed by the *Qaγan* of the Yuan. In the government seals (a) - (d), "*xing-hubu*"行户部, "*wangfu*"王府, "*shumiyuan*"枢密院, and "*zongguanfu*"总管府 were the original administrative agencies of the Yuan. When it comes to the *altan tamγa* (e) - (g), however, the Yuan court could never have permitted the use of the great seals with the inscription "... *zhi bao*" 之宝 by anyone apart from the *Qaγan*, the *Qatun* (Empress), and the Crown Prince. Even a blood royal with the exception of them had to use a regular government seal for the princes or *zhuwang guanyin* 诸王官印.③ Therefore, at least the *altan tamγa* (e) - (g) were not the seals bestowed by the Yuan court, but were prepared by the Il-khanid court.

In respect of locus sigilli of the official seals, the seals of the *al tamγa* or *altan tamγa* were basically appended to an adhesively bonded paper joint and to an ending of the document in which formulaic phrases including the date and place were mentioned. In the case of an edict of the Yuan, the great seal or *baoxi* 宝玺 was appended on the names as the recipient of an edict, following an opening formulaic phrases;④ however, in Il-khanid official documents, the seals were not appended there.

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① The Yuan emperor (*Qaγan*) had eight great seals, i. e. *babao* 八宝, namely, the *Shouming bao* 受命宝 (great seal of bestowing the Heaven's will), *Chuanguo bao* 传国宝 (great seal of the imperial regacy), *Tianzi zhi bao* 天子之宝 (great seal of the Heaven's son), *Huangdi zhi bao* 皇帝之宝 (great seal of the emperor), *Tianzi xing bao* 天子行宝 (great seal of issue by the Heaven's son), *Huangdi xing bao* 皇帝行宝 (great seal of issue by the emperor), *Tianzi xin bao* 天子信宝 (great seal of approval by the Heaven's son), *Huangdi xing bao* 皇帝信宝 (great seal of approval by the emperor) (*Yuanshi*《元史》j. 79, yufuzhi 舆服志二, chongtianlubu 崇天卤簿 (YS/Jiao, p. 1980)). See also Xie Qifeng 2003, pp. 246 - 247. Farquhar, D. M. classfied the seals of the Yuan period into princely seals and official seals (Farquhar 1966, pp. 362 - 368). Strictly speaking, princely seals other than the crown prince's is also categorized as official seals based on *Yuandianzheng* (See note 15).

② Gerhard Doerfer supposed that *altan tamγa* was used almost exclusively for financial or fiscal edicts (Doerfer, G. 1982 - 1985 (a), p. 768; Doerfer 1982 - 1985 (b), p. 913) and Herrmann shared his view (Herrmann, G. 1997, pp. 324 - 327). In fact, as Herrmann and Doerfer showed the actual documents of the *altan tamγa*, we can see some seal impressions of the small *altan tamγa* of Arabic script in the Il-khanid and post Il-khanid documents (See Herrmann, G. und Doerfer, G. 1975(a), p. 321, p. 331; Herrmann, G. und Doerfer, G. 1975(b), pp. 38 - 44). Doerfer's a view is, in addition, supported by the accounts of *Jāmi*, *al-Tavārīkh*, in which Rashīd al-Dīn Fadhlallāh Hamadānī discribed that the small *altan tamγa* (*altūn tamghā-ye kūchek*) was used for financial affairs (Jāmi,/Roushan, pp. 1468 - 1469). Although, in the said description, Rashīd al-Dīn refered to several great seals including a great seal made of jasper (*tamghā-ye bozorg-e yashm*), smaller sized great seal (*yekī-ye dīgar az yashm-e andakī-ye kūchektar*), small sized great seal made of gold (*tamghā-ye bozorg az zar*), and special seal made of gold (*tamghā-ye makhsūs az zar*), only the small *altan tamγa* and no other *altan tamγa* was refered to. Were such jusper and gold sealscategorized into *al tamγa* or *altan tamγa*? Judgeing from the order of the Rashīd al-Dīn's account, the great seals made of jusper and gold were the higher ranked seals than the small *altan tamγa*. If *altan tamγa* were prepared other than small one in the Il-khanid court, the great and special seals should be also included the category of *altan tamγa*. Doerfer assumed that *altan tamγa* means the seal made of gold and the seals (e)-(g) are *al tamγa* (Doerfer 1982 - 1985 (a), p. 767; Doerfer 1982 - 1985 (b), p. 913), but I do not share this opinion. We have to distinguish "*altan tamγa*" (*altūn tamghā*) from "seal made of gold" (*tamghā az zar*) in the context of Persian historical sources. Because, strictly speaking, "*altan*" does not only mean "gold" in the etymological sense but also "imperial", i. e. "the Chingisid legitimate" or "the golden clan of Borjigin" in the historical sense. Thus, we see that all of those includng the great seals were categolized into the *altan tamγas*. On the other hand, the seals (e)-(g) have the script of "... *zhi bao*" 之宝, which derived from the great seal script with the highest rank in the Yuan's sphragistic system. Thus, those seals corresponds to the great seals (*tamghā-ye bozorg*) in the Il-khanid sphragistic order. Viewed in this light, we may reasonably conclude that the seals (e)-(g) are not *al tamγa* but *altan tamγa*. I would like to present a detailed discussion of the function of *altan tamγa* and its distinction from *al tamγa* in another paper.

③ *Yuandianzheng*《元典章》dianzheng 典章 29, libu 礼部 2, yinzheng 印章 (YDZ/Chen, p. 454).

④ See, for example, *jarliγs* by the Yuan Qaγan in Xizongzizhiqu Dang'anguan 1995, n. 1 - 6.

In the Il-khanid court, only a limited number of people, for example, missionary subjects from the Yuan, could read Chinese characters. However, the top and bottom of each Chinese seal always takes the same direction. In the Mongol official documents, in which Uighur letters were written in a longitudinal fashion, Chinese seals were also inserted in the same direction (see Fig. 1). On the other hand, in Persian documents, in which Arabic letters were written from right to left, Chinese seals were inserted with their top to the right and their bottom to the left, alongside the Persian lines (see Fig. 2). On the contrary, the seal inscribed in Arabic characters that appeared after the Sultān Öljeitü reign was inserted with their top upward and their bottom downward in the same direction as that of the Persian letters (see Fig. 3). Thus, there exists a strong possibility that the manner in which the Chinese seals in Persian documents were inserted on the right side unexceptionally followed from the style of Mongolian documents.

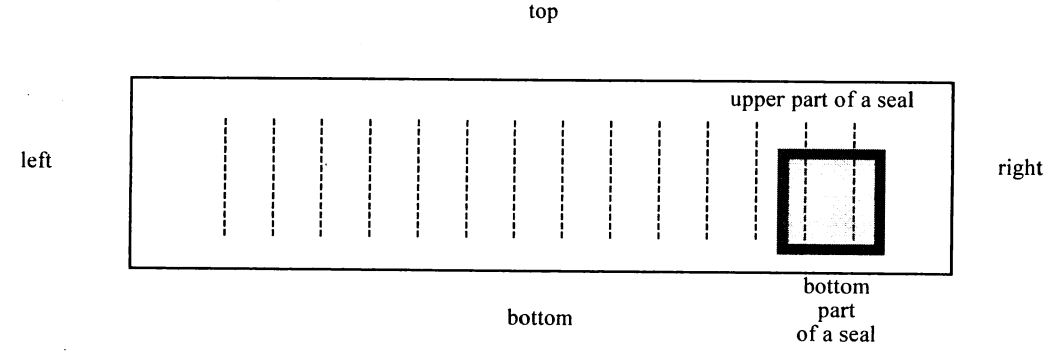

Fig. 1 Chinese seal in a Mongolian document

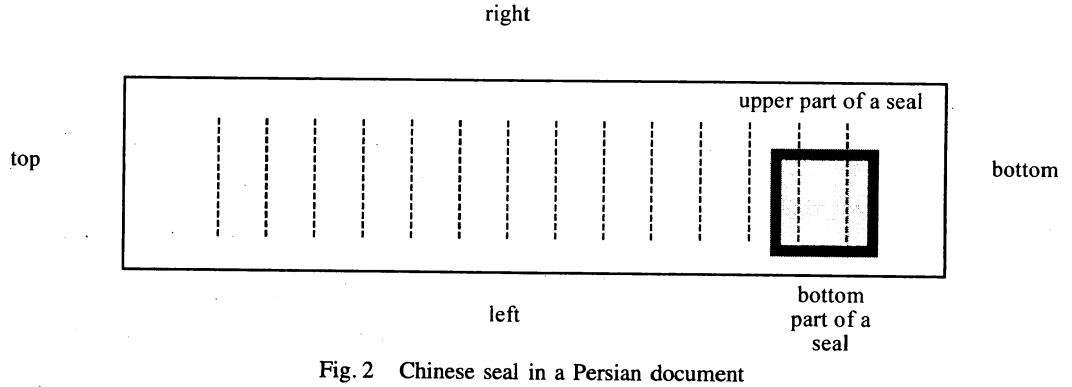

Fig. 2 Chinese seal in a Persian document

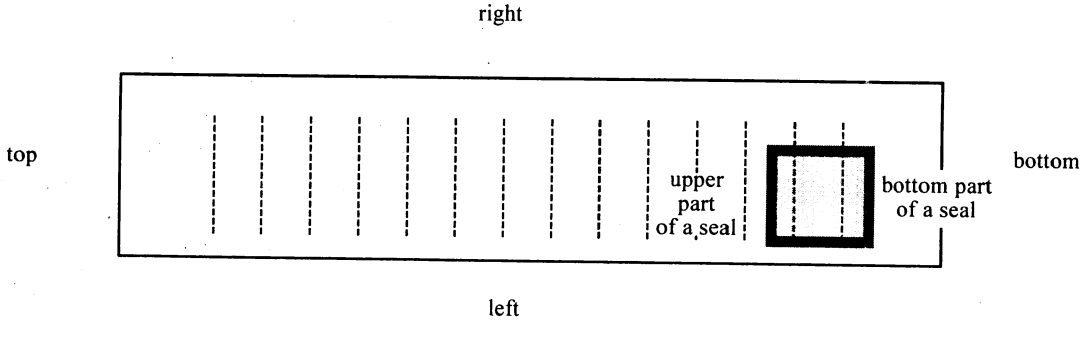

Fig. 3 Arabic seal in a Persian document

Nonetheless, in Iran, Chinese seals were prepared based on the understanding of Chinese language, and the official post names inscribed on the seals were actually based on the administrative organization of the Yuan dynasty. In addition, the inscription of the Chinese seals was related to the content of each document in some measure. Thus, we can comprehend the Il-khanid administrative structure, which is poorly understood heretofore, from the inscriptions of the seals and content of the documents.

Judging from the use of Chinese seals, this documentation system of the Il-khanid dynasty, at least before the reign of Gazan Qan, had a stronger influence on Chinese-Mongolian chancellery practices than on Iran-Islamic practices. An analysis of the sphragistic system explains the documentation system of the Il-khanid dynasty as well as that of the Mongol empire and the Yuan dynasty.

the Il-khanid Official Documents with the Chinese Seals

Al Tamya Documents (Persian Documents with the Chinese *guanyin* 官印 Seal)

(a) *Xing-hubu Shangshu Yin* 行户部尚书印

(a) -1. Ardabīl- AH 692 Sāheb-e Dīvān Ahmad *söz* (Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān)

Size: 118 × 18.5 cm

Date Issued: Latter part of Rabī al-Awwal 692A. H. (1293 A. D.), in the Irinčin Dorji (Gaikhatu) period

Place Issued: Pol-e Čaγan (White Bridge)

Issuer: Sāheb-e Dīvān Ahmad

Objects of the Decree: Nothing

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 03) *söz* "Ahmad Sāheb-e Dīvān sūzī" (Ahmad the Chief of Dīvān, his word)

Given Authority: (*ll.* 01 - 02) *yarliγ* "az hokm-e / yarligh"

Languages of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Persian-Turkic (*l.* 02) Persian-Turkic (*l.* 03) Turkic

Language of the Main Sentence: Persian

Written Characters: Arabic

Seal: (*ll.* 08 - 10) Square-shaped Red Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Xing-hubu Shangshu Yin*" 行户部尚书印

Size of the Seal: 9 × 9 cm

Location of the Document: Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān (Iran National Museum)

Facsimile: Herrmann 2004 (U. 3)

Text: Herrmann 2004 (U. 3)

Notes: There is the Arabic-Persian script on the reverse.

(a) -2. AH 692 Sāheb-e Dīvān Ahmad *söz* (Smithsonian Institution)

Size: 134 × 27.5 cm

Date Issued: Early part of Jumādā al-Ākhīr 692 A. H. (1293 A. D.) in the Irinčin Dorji (Gaikhatu) period

Place Issued: Kārīz

Issuer: Sāheb-e Dīvān Ahmad

Objects of the Decree: *bāsqāq* (viceroy), *nā'ibs* (vicegerents) and *motasarrefs* (landlords) of Ardabīl

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 03) *söz* "Aḥmad Sāḥeb-e Dīvān sūzī" (Ahmad the Chief of Dīvān, his word)

Given Authorities: (*l.* 01) *yarlıγ* of Irinčin Dorji (*l.* 02) *söz* of Sikütür, Aq Buqa and Taγačar

Languages of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Turkic (*l.* 02) Turkic (*l.* 03) Turkic

Language of the Main Sentence: Persian

Written Characters: Arabic

Seal: (*ll.* 05 - 06) (*ll.* 11 - 12) Square-shaped Red Seals in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Xing-hubu Shangshu Yin*"行戶部尚書印

Size of the Seal: Unknown

Location of the Document: the Freer Gallery of Art of the Smithsonian Institution

Facsimile: Soudavar 1992

Text: Moḥsen Ja'farī 2000

(b) *Wangfu zhi Yin* 王府之印

(b) -1. Ardabil- AH 704 Sa'd al-Dīn *söz* (Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān)

Size: 76 × 20 cm

Date Issued: 13th of Dhū al-Qādah 704 A. H. (1305 A. D.) in the Öljeitü Sultān period

Place Issued: Islamic Town (shahr-e Eslām) in ūjān

Issuer: [Vazīr] Sa'd al-Dīn

Objects of the Decree: Nothing

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 04) *söz* "Sa'd al-Dīn sūzī" (Sa'd al-Dīn, his word)

Given Authorities: (*l.* 01) the name of Allāh (*l.* 02) *yarlıγ* of Öljeitü Sultān (*l.* 03) *söz* of Qutluγ Shā, Čoban, Bolad, Hosein and Sevinč

Languages of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Arabic (*l.* 02) Turkic (*l.* 03) Turkic (*l.* 04) Turkic

Language of the Main Sentence: Persian

Written Characters: Arabic

Seal: (*ll.* 06 - 07) Square-shaped Red Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Wangfu zhi Yin*" 王府之印

Size of the Seal: 9.5 × 9.5 cm

Location of the Document: Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān (Iran National Museum)

Facsimile: Herrmann 2004 (U. 6)

Text: Herrmann 2004 (U. 6)

Notes: This document is the reverse side of the document (c) -1.

(c) *You-shumishi zhi Yin* 右枢密使之印

(c) -1. Ardabil-AH704 Qutluγ Shā *söz* (Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān)

Size: 76 × 20 cm

Date Issued: Middle of Dhū al-Qādah 704 A. H. (1305 A. D.) in the Öljeitü Sultān period

Place Issued: cloister of Qūdūgh

Issuer: [Amīr] Qutluγ Shāh

Objects of the Decree: *bāsqāq* (viceroy), *malek* (local lord), *qādhī* (judge), *nā'ibs* (vicegerents) and *motasarrefs*

(landlords) of Ardabīl

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 03) *söz* "Qutlugh Shāh sūzī" (Qutluγ Shāh, his word)

Givan Authorities: (*l.* 01) Allāh (*l.* 02) *yarliγ* of Öljeitü Sultān

Languages of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Arabic (*l.* 02) Turkic (*l.* 03) Turkic

Language of the Main Sentence: Persian

Written Characters: Arabic

Seals: (*ll.* 07 – 08) (*ll.* 11 – 12) Square-shaped Red Seals in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*You-shumishi zhi Yin*" 右枢密使之印

(*l.* 12) Square-shaped Black Seal in the Mongolian language -Phagspa characters "*Qutluγ Ša-yin belge*" (the Seal of Qutluγ Shāh)

Size of the Seals: "*You-shumishi zhi Yin*" 9 × 9 cm; "*Qutluγ Ša-yin belge*" 3.8 × 3.8 cm

Location of the Document: Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān (Iran National Museum)

Facsimile: Herrmann 2004 (U. 5)

Text: Herrmann 2004 (U. 5)

Notes: This document is the reverse side of the document (b) – 1.

(d) *Zongguan Yinyuan zhi Yin* 总管隐院之印

(d) – 1. Ardabil-AH704 Hosein *söz* (Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān)

Size: 220 × 16.5 cm

Date Issued: 25th of Dhū al-Hijjah 704 A. H. (1305 A. D.) in the Öljeitü Sultān period

Place Issued: the Royal City Tabrīz

Issuer: [Amīr] Hosein

Objects of the Decree: *bāsqāqs* (viceroies), *maleks* (local lords), *nā'ibs* (vicegerents), *motasarrefs* (landlords), *bitikchis* (secretaries) and officials in Tabrīz and Ardabīl

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 01) *söz* "Hosein sūzī" (Hosein, his word)

Given Authority: Nothing

Language of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Turkic

Language of the Main Sentence: Persian

Written Characters: Arabic

Seals: (*ll.* 04 – 05) (*ll.* 10 – 11) (*ll.* 17 – 18) (*ll.* 23 – 26) Square-shaped Red Seals in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Zongguan Yinyuan zhi Yin*" 总管隐院之印

(*ll.* 25 – 26) Square-shaped Black Seal in the Mongolian language -Uighur characters "*Üseyin-ü Varman_a Belge*" (the seal of approval by Hosein)

Size of the Seals: "*Zongguan Yinyuan zhi Yin*" 8 × 8 cm; "*Üseyin-ü Varman_a Belge*" 2.8 × 3.8 cm

Location of the Document: Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān (Iran National Museum)

Facsimile: Herrmann 2004 (U. 7)

Text: Herrmann 2004 (U. 7)

Notes: There is the Uighur-Mongolian script on the reverse.

(d) -2. AH 730 Shaykh Hosein *söz* (Matenadaran)

Size: 113 × 21 cm

Date Issued: Dhū al-Qādah 730 A. H. (1330 A. D.), in the Abū Sa'īd period

Place Issued: Ūjān

Issuer: Shaykh Hosein①

Object of the Decree: *hākems* (governor generals), *nāe'bs* (vicegerents), *motasarrefs* (landlords) and *bitikchis* (secretaries) of Nakhchevān

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 03) *söz* "Shaykh Hosein sūzī" (Shaykh Hosein, his word)"

Given Authorities: (*l.* 01) Allāh (*l.* 02) *yarliγ* of Abū Sa'īd Bahādur Khan

Languages of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Arabic (*l.* 02) Turkic (*l.* 03) Turkic

Language of the Main Sentence: Persian

Written Characters: Arabic

Seals: (*ll.* 11 - 12) (*ll.* 14 - 16) Square-shaped Red Seals in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Zongguan Yinyuan zhi Yin*" 总管隐院之印;

(*ll.* 15 - 16) Square-shaped Black Seal in Arabic characters, Unreadable

Size of the Seal: 8 × 8 cm

Location of the Document: Matenadaran (Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts)

Facsimile: Papazian, H. D. 1961

Text: Papazian, H. D. 1961

Altan Tamγa Documents (Mongolian Documents with the Chinese *baoxi* 宝玺 Seal)②

(e) *Fuguo Anmin zhi Bao* 辅国安民之宝

(e) -1. *taulai jil* Abaγa *üge* (Archivio Segreto Vaticano)

Size: 68.6 × 27.8 cm

Date Issued: 16th of the first month of winter, the year of the Rabbit (1267 A. D.) in the Abaγa period

Place Issued: Aras

Issuer: Abaγa [Qan]

Objects of the Decree: *daryas* (viceroies), *noyad* (*amīrs*), *todqaγul* (guardee), *qaraγul* (sentinel), *jamčin* (postal station keepers), and *ongγačačin* (boatmen) of cities in Samaγar

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 01) *üge* "Abaγ_a üge manu" (Abaγa, our word)

Given Authorities: Nothing

Languages of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Mongolian

Language of the Main Sentence: Mongolian

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① My special thanks are due to Dr. 'Emād al-Dīn Shaykh al-Hokamāī for valuable advice on the decipherment of this personal name-*toghrā*.

② An *Altan Tamγa* document is refered to merely as "*yarligh*" or "*yarligh va altūn tamghā*" in Persian historical sources like *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, *Tārīkh-e Vassāf*, and *Dastūr al-Kātib fi Ta'ayīn al-Marātib*. We can, for example, see the standard expression in *Dastūr al-Kātib fi Ta'ayīn al-Marātib* as follows: "For these reasons, this edict of *yarligh* with blessed (imperial) *altūn tamghā* has been issued." See also *Latā'if al-Inshā'/Majres* fol. 115b and Watabe Ryōko 2003, pp. 204 - 205.

Written Characters: Uighur

Seal: (*ll.* 13 - 16) Square-shaped Red Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Fuguo Anmin zhi Bao*" 辅国安民之宝

Size of the Seal: 14.5 × 14.9 cm

Location of the Document: Archivio Segreto Vaticano (A. A., Arm, Ⅰ-XⅧ, 1801(1))

Facsimile: Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. A); Dobu 1983; Tumurtogoo 2006 (Abaγa Ⅱ)

Text: Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. A); Dobu 1983; Tumurtogoo 2006 (Abaγa Ⅱ)

(e) -2. *üker jil* Arγun *üge* (Archives nationales)

Size: 183 × 25 cm

Date Issued: 6th of the latter part of the first month of summer, the yaer of the Cattle (1289 A. D.) in the Arγun period

Place Issued: Köndelen

Issuer: Arγun [Qan]

Objects of the Decree: Ired Barans (Roi de France)

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 03) *üge* "Arγun üge manu" (Arγun, our word)

Given Authorities: (*l.* 01) Power of the *tengri* (Heaven) "möngke tngri-yin kücün" (*l.* 02) Energy of the *Qaγan* "Qaγan-u süü"

Language of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Mongolian (*l.* 02) Mongolian (*l.* 03) Mongolian

Written Characters: Uighur

Language of the Main Sentence: Mongolian

Seals: (*ll.* 10 - 13) (*ll.* 24 - 27) (*ll.* 31 - 34) Square-shaped Red Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Fuguo Anmin zhi Bao*" 辅国安民之宝

Size of the Seal: 15 × 15 cm

Location of the Document: Archives nationales de France, Paris

Facsimile: Bonaparte, R. N. 1895; Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1962 (Doc. A); Dobu 1983

Text: Abel-Rémusat 1824; Meadows 1850; Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1962 (Doc. A); Dobu 1983; Tumurtogoo 2006 (Ar. Ⅱ)

(e) -3. *bars jil* Arγun *üge* (Archivio Segreto Vaticano)

Size: 110.2 × 26.4 cm

Date Issued: 5th of the early part of the first month of summer, the yaer of Tigar (1290 A. D.) in the Arγun period

Place Issued: Urumi (Urmiye)

Issuer: Arγun [Qan]

Objects of the Decree: (Nicolaus Ⅳ)

Style of the Decree: Unknown (*üge*?)

Given Authorities: Unknown

Languages of the Opening Phrases: Unknown (Mongolian?)

Language of the Main Sentence: Mongolian

Written Characters: Uighur

Seals: (*ll.* 13 - 18) (*ll.* 30 - 34) Square-shaped Red Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Fuguo Anmin zhi Bao*" 辅国安民之宝

Size of the Seal: 15.3 × 14.9 cm &13 × 14.8 cm

Location of the Document: Archivio Segreto Vaticano (A. A., Arm, I-XVIII, 1801(3))

Facsimile: Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. B); Dobu 1983; Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München 2005 (312); Tumurtogoo 2006 (Ar. Ⅱ)

Text: Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. B); Dobu 1983; Tumurtogoo 2006 (Ar. Ⅲ)

Notes: The beginning of the document is lost.

(e) -4. anonymous *bičig* (Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān)

Date Issued: Unknown (After Arγun Qan)

Place Issued: Unknown

Issuer: Unknown (Arγun?)

Objects of the Decree: Unknown

Style of the Decree: Unknown

Given Authorities: Unknown

Languages of the Opening Phrases: Unknown (Mongolian?)

Language of the Main Sentence: Mongolian

Written Characters: Uighur

Seals: (*ll.* 01 - 02) (*l.* 05) Square-shaped Red Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Fuguo Anmin zhi Bao*" 辅国安民之宝

Size of the Seal: Unknown

Location of the Document: Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān (Iran National Museum)

Facsimile: Pelliot, P. 1936; Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. Ⅱ)

Text: Pelliot, P. 1936; Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. Ⅱ)

Notes: The beginning of the document is lost.

(f) *Wangfu Dingguo Limin zhi Bao* 王府定国理民之宝

(f) -1. *bars jil* Γasan *üge* (Archivio Segreto Vaticano)

Size: 88.1 × 42 (42.4) cm

Date Issued: 14th of the last month of spring, the yaer of Tigar (1302 A. D.) in the Γasan period

Place Issued: Qos Qabuq

Issuer: [Maḥmud Sultan] Γasan Qan

Objects of the Decree: Bab(Papa [catholicus Bonifacius Ⅷ])

Style of the Decree: (*l.* 01) *üge* "Γasan üge manu" (Γasan, our word)

Given Authorities: Nothing

Language of the Opening Phrases: (*l.* 01) Mongolian

Language of the Main Sentence: Mongolian

Written Characters: Uighur

Seals: (*ll.* 08 - 10) (*ll.* 12 - 14) Square-shaped Red Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Wangfu Dingguo Limin zhi Bao*" 王府定国理民之宝

(verso) Square-shaped Black Seal in the Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Bao*" 宝

Size of the Seal: "*Wangfu Dingguo Limin zhi Bao*"9.5 × 9 cm &9.5 × 9.4 cm; "*Bao*" 3.2 × 3.2 cm

Location of the Document: Archivio Segreto Vaticano (A. A., Arm, I-XVIII, 1801(2))

Facsimile: Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. C); Dobu 1983; Tumurtogoo 2006 (Γas)

Text: Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1952 (Doc. C); Dobu 1983; Tumurtogoo 2006 (Γas)

Notes: There are the Uighur-Mongolian script and square-shaped black seal in Chinese "Bao"宝 on the reverse.

(g) *Zhenming-Huangdi Tianshun-Wanshi zhi Bao* 真命皇帝天顺万事之宝

(g) -1. *moγai jil* Öljeitü *üge* (Archives nationales)

Size: 300 × 50 cm

Date Issued: 8th of the latter part of the first month of summer, the year of the Serpent (A. D. 1305) in the Öljeitü Sultān period

Place Issued: Aliwan

Issuer: Öljeitü Sultān

Objects of the Decree: Iridiwarans Sultan (Roi de France, l'emperor)

Style of the Decree: (*l.*01) *üge* "Öljeitü Sultan üge manu" (Öljeitü Sultān, our word)

Given Authorities: Nothing

Language of the Opening Phrases: (*l.*01) Mongolian

Language of the Main Sentence: Mongolian

Written Characters: Uighur

Seals: (*ll.*06 - 08) (*ll.*15 - 17) (*ll.*25 - 27) (*ll.*36 - 38) (*ll.*40 - 42) Square-shaped Red Seals in the Chinese language - Chinese characters "*Zhenming-Huangdi Tianshun-Wanshi zhi Bao*"真命皇帝天顺万事之宝

Size of the Seal: 13 × 13 cm

Location of the Document: Archives nationales de France (Nr. 96 - 9 - 13)

Facsimile: Bonaparte, R. N. 1895; Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1962 (Doc. B); Dobu 1983; Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München 2005 (313)

Text: Abel-Rémusat 1824; Meadows 1850; Mostaert, A. et Cleaves, F. W. 1962 (Doc. B); Dobu 1983; Tumurtogoo 2006 (Ölj)

Notes: There are the Uighur-Mongolian script and square-shaped black seal in Uighur-Mongolian "... belge bičig" on the reverse.

(g) -2. *bičin jil* Abū Sa'īd *üge* (Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān)

Date Issued: 8th of the latter part of the second month of autumn, the year of the Monkey (1320 A. D.) in the Sultān Abū Sa'īd period

Place Issued: Soltaniya (Sultāniyeh)

Issuer: Busayid (Abū Sa'īd) Baγatur Qan

Objects of the Decree: *Noyad* (*Amīrs*) of centurions in Gilan

Style of the Decree: (*l.*01) *üge* "Busayid Baγatur Qan üge manu" (Abū Sa'īd Baγatur Qan, our word)

Given Authorities: Nothing

Language of the Opening Phrases: (*l.*01) Mongolian

Language of the Main Sentence: Mongolian

Written Characters: Uighur

Seals: Square-shaped Red Seal in Chinese language -Chinese characters "*Zhenming-Huangdi Tianshun-Wanshi zhi Bao*"真命皇帝天顺万事之宝

Size of the Seal: Unknown

Location of the Document: Mūse-ye Mellī Īrān (Iran National Museum)

Facsimile: Pelliot, P. 1936; Cleaves, F. W. 1953 (Doc. Ⅲ); Tumurtogoo 2006 (Bus. 1)

Text: Pelliot, P. 1936; Cleaves, F. W. 1953 (Doc. Ⅲ); Tumurtogoo 2006 (Bus. 1)

Notes: There is the Uighur-Mongolian script on the reverse.

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